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*North's Dream. 1791*  
THE

1791

D R E A M

OF AN

E N G L I S H M A N,

FAITHFUL TO

HIS KING AND COUNTRY.

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L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR P. E L M S L Y.

M D C C X C I I I.

AC 911. 1793, L35

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## The D R E A M, &c.

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**A** ROMAN, when the Romans were enslaved, dreamed that he slew the tyrant: the tyrant heard of it, and punished him with death. I dreamed that I was summoned to the council of a good King: a King who well deserves the glory of supporting, by his virtues, that constitution which supports him, by its laws. My zeal, if even indiscreet, will obtain, I trust, at least, his indulgence; while I hold it equally my duty to conceal my name, and let the public know my dream.

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Absent,

Absent, till lately, from my country, I sighed to meet with laws, to meet with men. Lost in a long and dangerous voyage, I have been wandering amidst a savage people: a people obedient to no laws but those of a ferocious instinct: acknowledging no benevolent Deity, but worshiping the principle of evil, to whom they offer human victims, while they feed on human blood. From such sacrifices, and such feasts, having escaped, as if by miracle, when I disembarked in England, I fell prostrate and kissed the British soil, the native growth of which are Wisdom, Liberty, Humanity.

On a sudden I learned that peace and law were threatened there; I learned by whom, and for what purpose, and I shrank with horror. Proclamations, however, as firm as they were prudent, happily recalled the good, and struck the bad with dread. I felt proud of my country, when I saw on every side those noble associations formed to defend the laws, the sovereign, and the people. Mixing with the crowd, I found many who were more enlightened, none more zealous than myself. I had been long absent from my country, and had great arrears of duty to discharge. So fortunate were my enquiries, that few, I believe, among my countrymen learned more than I did, of all that was conspired against her, abroad and at home.



The thirteenth of December was a great day for England. It was distinguished by the meeting of the King with his people, in the capital of the empire, the enthusiastic rapture of that meeting, and the opening of the most patriotic Session of Parliament that, perhaps, was ever held in England. In both houses, it was a scene of consolation to behold the unequal struggle of ambition against patriotism, of a seditious rhetoric against the eloquence of virtue. I saw it, and was happy.

On the 15th, again I was in the House of Commons : but hardly could I trust my ears when I heard the proposition made, of sending *a public Minister to Paris, as to Constantinople or Algiers*. Even the form of this proposition did not reconcile me to the subject of it ; and I put up a secret prayer to nature, that, when she forms in future such sublimity of talents, she would join them with such other qualities as may always render them a blessing, not a terror to mankind. I was agitated. I partook the virtuous indignation of the Noble Lord who asked *how any one could dare propose to the Parliament of England to become associated with a band of robbers and assassins?* When I returned home, I found the act declaratory of the crimes of Louis XVI. The stupidity of this act provoked me more than its mere malice could have done ; before men could have impudence to publish such an Act against a King, they must have been prepared to rob and murder in the public roads. They must have dis-

missed all conscience, shame, and every human tie. I repeated to myself this remark of Mr. Burke's: *At this moment the King of France is judged by citizen Paine, who will be judged in a few days by the King of England,* and should he meet with his deserts will be exposed to public shame, at least in effigy. I recollected also what the same author had said in his second Letter on the French Revolution, and I asked myself whether the safety of the King of France, on which, perhaps, the safety of all Europe may depend, deserve not quite as much the attention of the several cabinets, as the balance between Russia and the Porte, and even between Austria and Prussia?

In the midst of all these agitations, nature sunk: for I had been three nights without sleep. The same thoughts, however, still pursued me. On a sudden I seemed to be transported to St. James's. His Majesty was there in Council; he had convened a deputy from each Parochial Association in the capital, and the parish I belong to had commissioned me, as having the completest knowledge of the plots. Each deputy explained the facts and proofs he had collected in his district. The Ministers then spoke their sentiments; and I admired, in all they said, a true patriotism; a firm attachment to the Constitution of their country; an inflexible fidelity to our allies; a just apprehension of the miseries with which the invasion of these new Vandals menaces all Europe;

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a strong feeling for the unfortunate French King, and all his family : but they seemed to fear that the people of England were not fully conscious of their interests : that, the danger being over for the present, they did not enough feel it to be necessary that its return should be prevented. There was one measure which they did not venture to advise ; one sentiment peculiar to the King. Having caused me to repeat once more the whole of what I knew, his Majesty reflected for a time. At length, amidst a general silence of attentive expectation, he said to me, "*Write.*" I took the pen, and, as he dictated, wrote down the following Manifesto.

*MANIFESTO:*

## M A N I F E S T O.

HIS Britannic Majesty has followed the events that have been going on in France for four years past, with much attention and concern; but at the same time with a spirit of justice and moderation, to which all Europe can bear testimony.

At the opening of the States General in 1789, his Majesty, whose pride it is to govern a free people, and who every day receives more touching proofs how close an union may exist between fidelity and liberty, beheld, not only without envy, but with pleasure, the hope which France then had of sharing that to which his subjects owe inestimable blessings; a constitution free, wise, and vigorous, protecting every individual, and preserving every right.

Troubles soon arose in France, between the ancient and the new authorities. His Britannic Majesty, however, determined not to call to mind whatever might have led to resolutions such as an ordinary policy might seem to dictate, and the strictest justice never could have blamed. His Majesty conceived

ceived that by a generous oblivion he should be more worthily avenged than by severe reprisals. He did more. For two years, he offered the most ardent wishes, that His Most Christian Majesty and the French nation, by him invited to liberty, might come to some agreement on their real interests, and the means of fixing everlastingly their mutual and inseparable prosperity.

In 1789, threats were circulated, that the magazines of a chief maritime town of France should be burnt. His Britannic Majesty strongly expressed the horror that he felt at such a project. He declared that the criminals, whoever they might be, should find no asylum in his kingdoms. He seized this opportunity of renewing to the King, and expressing to the National Assembly of France, his assurances of peace and friendship : that both, relieved from all external apprehension, might give themselves entirely to those labours on which depended the felicity of millions.

In 1791, the French colony of St. Domingo became the victim of a revolt and devastation, too easily foreseen. In consequence of orders from his Majesty, Lord Effingham supplied the colonists with vessels and provisions, and public thanks were voted, by the National Assembly of France, to his Britannic Majesty, and the British Nation.

In

In the month of September, in the same year, His Most Christian Majesty notified to the King of Great Britain, that he had accepted the constitution voted by the National Assembly. His Majesty replied by new expressions of his wishes for the happiness of the contracting parties, then connected with each other by the faith of a new oath.

In the Month of June, 1792, France declared war against the Emperor. His Most Christian Majesty, by his ambassador, made and reiterated the most earnest instances, that his Britannic Majesty would preserve his amicable dispositions, and not increase the enemies of France. By the same ambassador, his Majesty received thanks *for the sentiments of humanity, justice, and peace, so manifest in his reply; and also for the Royal Proclamation issued on that subject.*

Note of M.  
Chauvelin, 18  
June, 1792.

Ibid.

In consequence of these known dispositions of his Majesty, the King of France sent application to him *to employ his good offices, and even the influence of his situation, to decrease the number of the enemies of France, and to prevent assistance, direct or indirect, from being given to them by his allies.* In support of this request the French Ambassador alledged *the balance of Europe, the independance of its several states, and the danger threatened to its general Peace.* At this period, it was freely and positively declared, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, *That, most certainly, the same sentiments by which his Majesty had been determined*

not to interfere with the interior affairs of France, would equally incline him to respect the rights and independance of the other Sovereigns. But, at the same time, the offer of his mediation, by counsel or good offices, was no less positively made, provided it should be desired by all the parties interested. In the mean time, his Majesty engaged to keep a strict neutrality; and by his most near allies the same system has been embraced and scrupulously observed.

Lord Grenville's Note in Answer to that of M Chauvelin of the 18th.

His Majesty, touched with intimate affection for the Most Christian King, with esteem for his virtues, and feeling for his sufferings, heard with great uneasiness the dangers he encountered on the 20th of June: but at the same time he learnt that his courage and good conscience had preserved him in the midst of peril. Soon after, he saw the constituted authorities, the common councils of the towns and country, 67 out of 83 departments, encompassing the throne with their loyal addresses; protesting their fidelity to the King of the French; returning thanks to him for his firmness; offering him their hearts and hands; devoting that fatal day to infamy and execration; in a word, soliciting, in the name of the Constitution and of the Nation, the punishment of those by whom that guilty effort had been plotted, executed, or permitted. His Majesty was not yet under the painful necessity of departing from the line he had marked out; on the contrary; for some moments he began

to hope for France the return of that internal quiet, which soon would have produced external peace.

Unfortunately this hope was very soon cut off; new seeds of discord were diffused; their growth was no less rapid than alarming; events pushed on each other, misfortunes multiplied, and Europe saw the dreadful 10th of August.

That which on the 21st of June had been *the Nation*, on the 11th of August was so no more. Those who on the former day had been called *Rebels*, on the latter called themselves *the Government*. Municipalities, departments, justices of peace, tribunals, the constitution itself, that constitution which five and twenty days before had been confirmed by solemn oath, all these, and even the King, had disappeared.

It was then the proper time for his Britannic Majesty to call home his Ambassador. He had been sent to the French King, and that King was imprisoned: he could reside only with a government, and there was none in France. Even they who on the evening of the 10th of August had united to destroy the throne, on the ensuing day divided to contest the spoils. In this perpetual instability of parties, which for three years had distracted the kingdom, and which, as either prevailed or were defeated, were called by turns *the Nation* or *the Faction*, by what mark could his

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his Majesty distinguish which had really the right of being styled *the People of France*?

His Majesty did not conceal the deep affliction of his heart occasioned by so many tragical events. What heart was barbarous enough to seem, at such a time, insensible ! Even admitting the possibility of a doubt which side to take, grief belonged to both. Each had its losses to deplore, the blood had streamed on either part. If we even force ourselves to believe that the vanquished had been the aggressors, was there not an abuse of victory, which the fiercest wars, in ages the most barbarous, could hardly parallel ? France, thus wounded in one part, was threatened on all. Switzerland, a nation no less brave than honest, was plunged in grief. Was not this grief the general sentiment of Europe ? To be anxious and to groan, was it not, at such a time, to sympathize with all, and to speak the universal language ?

To the testimony of this deep affliction, his Majesty united the expression of a lively interest for his Most Christian King, for his Royal Family, their safety, and their dignity. He announced the general indignation that a crime, of which they were the intended victims, would excite. He gave notice, that by such an act his amicable dispositions would of necessity be violated. Who will dare to say, that such a declaration was not at that time a duty ? what King, what people, not insensible to justice and to genero-

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fity,

sity, would not have felt the strongest sympathy, in viewing so much probity, so great courage, so much youth and virtue, joined with such misfortunes? What man existing, armed with any power, would not suppose himself obliged to use it all, to prevent, if possible, such horrible injustice? What signifies the number of the men who would commit it? Is it against weakness in behalf of strength, or in behalf of weakness against strength, that it becomes a man to arm? His Britannic Majesty, on this subject, would boldly make appeal to all true Frenchmen. He feels convinced that, even at this moment, the great majority would applaud his declaration. Could the consciences of men be revealed, he might, perhaps, appeal even to those who seem most earnest for destroying his most Christian Majesty. It might then be seen that Louis the XVIth, equal in ill-fortune and integrity, has not perhaps a single personal enemy; and that the king is hated only from a hatred to royalty, by those who, having ventured to destroy it, despair to substitute any better thing, yet dread the thoughts of seeing that revive.

But, even in the midst of these eventual declarations, his Majesty renewed his assurances of peace; and suffered his ambassador once to see the equivocal depositaries of provisional government, in order to declare, that his intention was to keep a strict  
neutrality

neutrality with respect to France, and the powers with which she was at war.

Conformable to this language have been the actions of his Majesty ; in his dominions, all advantages that treaties promised have been granted to the French ; all of them have been received, whatever were their opinions, whatever their designs. Security, liberty, property, have been unviolated, industry unfettered.

For stores of provisions, horses, arms, they have found the greatest facility, perhaps too great, for among the arms some have been of a kind not merely suspicious. Finally, to this very moment, nothing has been said, nothing has been done by his Majesty, with respect to France, in which he has not spoken or acted in a manner worthy of a good, nay, even of a friendly and indulgent neighbour.

On the part of the French government, what return has this behaviour of his Majesty produced ?

While Louis XVI. remained upon his throne, his Majesty received from him all that he had reason to expect. The unfortunate Louis loved to reckon upon the affection of his Majesty, and probably has more than once reproached himself for that war, so fatal to the continent of Europe, into which imprudent ministers seduced his youth.

Since

Since the shameful detention in which, for these four months, Louis XVI. and all his family have groaned, there is no kind of injury, which has not been offered to his Britannic Majesty, except open war, which would at least have been more generous.

His ambassador was made subject to refusals, to forms, and to an enquiry, incompatible with the respect due to one who represented him.

Such of his subjects as were then in France were not allowed at their own pleasure to quit a land, in which the life of every man was subject to the arbitrary and capricious rage of the first murderer who might chance to make a sport of assassination, frequently without anger, and even without a motive.

Some of them have been detained in private custody, some at midnight have been dragged out of their sleep to prison, when the massacres of the second of September were already resolved. They have in vain demanded exemption as subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and have owed their safety only to the accidental turn of circumstances.

Two were massacred.

Whole societies of British subjects have been obliged to abandon the houses they possessed in France, having bought or built them at their own expence ;  
in

in which, under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, under the safeguard of treaties, under the liberty of conscience proclaimed by France herself, they peaceably pursued their studies, and maintained the exercise of their religion.

English travellers have been detained, insulted, threatened.

Females have been put under military guard, some of them plundered, others subjected to injuries worse than death itself.

Proprietors of land, who, under the terms of treaties, and even of the French constitution, were allowed to have possessions, acquisitions, and engagements, in France, have been considered as emigrants : and because they returned to their original country, and into the bosom of their families, have had their goods seized, their revenues confiscated, and their possessions put up to sale.

Lastly, after all these partial injuries, some at least of which might be attributed to chance, the whole has been completed by a general, voluntary, and determined injury ; the more touching to the heart of his Majesty, because it must affect the happiness of his subjects ; the more atrocious, because, in order to commit it, all notions of justice and injustice must be set at nought ; every thing, that from the first existence

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ence of society had been held sacred; must be violated; every thing that reason and morality had established as the law of nations must be subverted.

To you it is, noble and faithful Britons, that your King recites the anxious feelings of his heart, and the perils from which he has been studious to preserve you. You must be told the truth. Your enemies had contrived, they had carried on, they thought themselves at the very moment of completing, a conspiracy to overturn your Laws, and to annihilate your Constitution; to destroy that happy labour of your glorious ancestors, which, for a century at least, has raised you to the highest rank of nations, both in dignity and wealth.

They who have profaned their temples, blasphemed their God, and made as many martyrs as they could discover men adhering to religion; these could not bear to see that elevation and that purity of soul, which lead you to acknowledge as the groundwork of your whole morality, respect and duty to the great Creator.

They who have oppressed with chains, with insults, and with punishments, a benevolent King, and all his family, regarding neither sex nor age; these men have been enraged to view the union here established, between a wise people, and a Government that they have tried, and love; between a people of  
strict

strict probity, persuaded of the sanctity of oaths; a people of good feelings, who return affection for benevolence; and a Sovereign, whose reign is that of law; who seeks no power but that of giving happiness to you; who knows no glory but your liberty, no happiness but your attachment.

They who have violated, burnt, and ravaged property on every side, destroying the resources of the poor by devouring all the fortunes of the rich; who, after taking from the indigent their bread, have made it scarce, even to those in better circumstances; who have covered France with prisons, gibbets, ruins, massacres: these men detest a country where men of property without alarm pass happy days, and nights of sound tranquillity; where industry proceeds to fortune by the path of honour, where the labourer finds work, the poor assistance; where the law alone, and that a law above corruption, can deprive a man of liberty; where justice only strikes at life, and even the hand of justice strikes unwillingly.

They, who, with the words *Liberty* and *Equality* for ever in their mouths, have introduced the most intolerable slavery, and most monstrous inequality; who have punished opinions with death, and have hunted out opinions even in the secrecy of thoughts and private papers; who, for every different person to be tried, have thrown a different weight into the scale of justice; who have always honoured, always

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acquitted,

acquitted, always even rewarded, plunderers and assassins; have always insulted, always condemned, always sacrificed men of worth and property; who have been first to shew mankind the scandal of Judges faithful to the law, deprived, imprisoned, murdered; who, in full court, would fain have massacred a *Jury* for declaring a man Not Guilty; who, with the aid of an iniquitous Judge, remanded back to prison a man found innocent by legal sentence; who sought another *Jury* to declare him Guilty; and, after all, thought it the readiest way to murder him, without waiting for this second verdict: these men could not bear that near them should exist a country, in which the freedom of the subject has no other boundary than that which law has placed, that is, in fact, his own consent; where thoughts are totally inviolable, and opinion cannot be made a crime; where error is pardoned, and guilt can only be attached to actions. They could not bear that near them should exist a country, where true *equality* prevails in full perfection; that is, where not a single native can exist, who, by talents, virtues, services, may not attain the highest offices and honours; where the term *new man* is unknown; where the life, liberty, and property, of the most obscure individual are just as highly valued as those of the most elevated; where the first Peer of the Realm, and the most humble artisan, have equal weight within the scale of Justice. They could not bear that near them should exist a country, where the law is adored, and where, for many generations,

there



there has no such thing been heard of as a corrupt Judge, a perjured Jury, an oppressive Magistrate, a criminal not defended, or an innocent man condemned.

Finally, they who have annihilated their commerce, and converted their most flourishing colonies to a heap of bloody ashes; who have driven out one half of their specie, and, distrustful of themselves, have buried the rest, replacing it by fraudulent paper and fictitious money, which all the territory of France, ere long, will not be able to redeem; they, in a word, who, without religion, morals, laws, or government, have destroyed in four years the work of fourteen ages, have led their miserable country to anarchy, to war internal and external, to bankruptcy and famine: these men have viewed with envy, and have cursed, the immensity of your commerce, the prosperity of your colonies, the reduction of your debt, the diminution of your taxes, the abundance of your treasures; your credit, your plenty, your laws, your virtues.

Into this land of Justice and of Peace they have sent a gang of desperate men, with charge to bring upon us all the miseries with which they have already overwhelmed their native country. These men have been distributed in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and even in the British Colonies. Among these Apostles of guilt and discord, a sacrilegious hierarchy has been established; every one connected with

some chief, who had a certain number under him. Every one, in his proportion, has had large remittances, not only for himself, but for the purpose of corrupting and retaining simple, wicked, or guiltily ambitious men, who in the wisest nation, and beneath the most just government, are yet too numerous. The chiefs kept up a correspondence; from one part to another, emissaries were dispatched continually, whose business was to circulate incendiary libels, and treacherous exhortations. They returned periodically to France with accounts of their mission, and then were sent again to England, with new instructions and supplies. Thus the new administrators of France, who have devoured three thousand millions of their livres, in three years, who expend in one year eighteen hundred millions, though they lay on only six hundred, and have received, during the last year, only one hundred and eighty-seven; these men, instead of seeking means of peace, and finding some resource for their exhausted country, drain it more completely, and augment the misery of the French, for no better purpose than to ruin England, as they have already ruined France.

Britons, look around you. Behold your houses, your land, your towns, your manufactures, your harbours. Review in your own minds the whole British empire. Then turn your eyes to France, and compare with what you are, that state to which these men would fain reduce you.

Of

Of these facts his Majesty has positive knowledge. He is informed of all the chiefs, their agents, their societies, correspondents, emissaries; their times of meeting, journeys, and resolves.

He knows which among them had letters of unlimited credit; which of them had monthly, weekly, or daily pay. He knows that a plan was actually formed to seize the Tower, and carry off the stores of arms, to throw open the prisons, to attack the houses of the wealthy, and the public offices; in a word, to destroy by one blow every branch of the constitution. He knows that the execution of this plot was proposed for Saturday the first of December, 1792, or Monday the third. He has seen the model of the daggers to be put into the hands of the seditious; it was found in the possession of a Frenchman. He knows where twenty thousand weight of iron was deposited, prepared for forming into pikes in a few hours.

His Majesty is informed what members of the National Convention, finding that the plots went on too slowly, wrote to one of his agents *that they did not labour as they ought, nor duly earn the pay of the Republic.*

He knows what other members of the National Convention had formed a plan to excite your negroes to revolt, destroy the British Colonies, and, in a word, *at any hazard and expence to ruin England.*

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He knows what emissary of France, after staying only four and twenty hours in London, went off for the Hague, with a commission *to throw Holland into confusion.*

He is informed what other emissary wrote back to France about the middle of November, promising *that the revolt would soon break out in London*: but, about the middle of December, wrote again, *that for the present there was no farther hope.*

He knows which of the chiefs has warned his agents, *that, as the first attempt has failed, they must take their measures very cautiously before they try a second.*

He knows the number and the names of the French engineers, who, finding no employment from a baffled plot in England, had orders to embark for Ireland, on Monday the 17th of last December; and he also knows what chief first countermanded them, and sent them back to France, and afterwards returned thither himself,

If the provisional executive council of France will deny the acts of the French government in all these horrid machinations, it will be an equivocation which deserves not even a moment's notice. We know well that the real power is not vested there; and that though some few members of that body may, as individuals, be admitted to the mysteries of the men

in power, collectively the executive council is no better than a servile instrument.

But success was thought so certain, that at Paris they threw off the mask. In the sitting of November 28, several persons, calling themselves British subjects, appeared at the bar of the assembly which is styled *the National Convention*. They appeared there for the purpose of reviling the British Constitution; they announced that, *perhaps in a very short time*, it would no more exist; they boasted of being rebels to their King and Country: and the Convention overwhelmed them with applauses! The President, in his answer, refining on their guilty madness, was bold enough to invite all the subjects of Great Britain to revolt against their Laws, their King, and Parliament; he dared to say, that *royalty itself was expiring, and that a secret fire would soon consume the throne*: and at these words there was a burst of new applause.

After this act of treason on the one hand, and direct hostility on the other, to give it a more solemn character, and more extensive effect, it was ordered to be printed and published.

Noble and faithful Britons, behold in what manner your King has been rewarded for his fidelity to treaties, for the generosity which made him disdain vengeance, and the moderation which caused him to refuse victory; for the respect he had to misfortune,  
and

and the vows he had put up for the prosperity of France! Behold how you yourselves have been rewarded for your good wishes, your good neighbourhood, your aids, and your impartial hospitality!

Official Note  
of M. Chau-  
velin, 12 May,  
1792.

Behold the effect of those promises so solemnly reiterated by the Ambassador of France! Behold *that respect which the French would always pay to the laws, the customs, and all the forms of government, established in those countries by which they have not been attacked!* Behold the sincerity of that *disavowal* which he pronounced before-hand; that *severity* which he undertook to exercise against *all agents of that country who, in foreign and friendly courts, should for a moment dare to deviate from that respect, either by fomenting or favouring insurrections against the established Government, or by intermeddling, in any manner whatsoever, with the interior policy of those States, under pretext of making proselytes, which, with respect to friendly powers, would be an actual infringement of the undoubted rights of nations!*

Assuredly, if his Majesty were inclined to put forth all his power, to call around him, in the name of the Constitution, all his faithful subjects, and to take a signal vengeance for so many crimes and perjuries, never war could be more just, or more completely national.

Never

Never war, on the other hand, could promise to be more quickly terminated, less expensive, or more fortunate.

Those of the French colonies that remain, fatigued with insurrections, conflagrations, massacres, would adore the British standard when it reached their coasts, to bring them that to which they have so long been strangers,—Peace and Laws.

The establishments of France in Asia would fall at the first summons made to them in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

Our fleets, united with those of our ancient allies (and perhaps with others), would at once shut all the ports of France, and oblige the Government to yield at length to justice and to reason, under pain of the destruction of their navy, the stagnation of their commerce, and the scourge of famine.

The united Powers to whom his Majesty has so steadily refused to accede, encouraged by so effectual a diversion, would soon disperse those armies of the French, which, in the midst of all their plunder, are in want of every thing; those armies, no less terrible to the country which have raised them, than to those where they have marched; the return of which is yet more dreadful to the Government of France than their conquests have been beneficial.

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But his Majesty would not consider himself as just, if in the factions which oppress and which deceive the French, he viewed the nation itself. If he considered a people, hitherto renowned for brilliant virtues, and for gentle manners, as existing in a set of criminal and ferocious clubs; in an assemblage of men unknown, and of no country, among whom, whoever in his native land has met with just contempt, or been obnoxious to the vengeance of the laws, finds a refuge; it would be afflicting to his Majesty to take a measure which, by sad necessity, must confound the innocent with the guilty; nor could, at least in the beginning, make distinctions between those who might be worthy of punishment, or of compassion; between those who have a claim to succour, and those whose crimes have called for vengeance.

Relieved, moreover, from the prospect of immediate danger, by the courage and integrity of his faithful subjects, by their ardour to support the Constitution, by their numerous and affecting testimonies of attachment to his person, family, and government, his Majesty, considering the happiness of England as secure, may try, with respect to the French Government, the methods of justice and of moderation.

His Majesty declares once more, that his intention is to abstain from every kind of interference in the  
internal



internal Government of France. He will not dispute with the nation its right to legislate for itself. Would to God it had already been long exercised! Be it exercised even now. Let us behold in France distinctly what may deserve to be considered as the nation, what may be worthy of the name of laws; and then his Majesty will not refuse to form with France any such connection as is known among the powers of Europe.

France is alarmed for her subsistence, and with too much reason. His Majesty makes an offer of all the succours he can give, is open to the proposal of all kinds of treaty for supplies, which may not be injurious to his subjects, whose welfare he must ever first consult.

The Colonies of France are reduced to the most deplorable situation. His Majesty then offers to the Government of France, when once it shall be fairly constituted, that he will act in concert with it to give order to those countries once so prosperous. Thus is it that the King and people of Great Britain ought to take revenge.

France is at war with half of Europe, even her victories impoverish, and make her odious. The French Ambassador had asked the mediation of his Majesty; he offers it again upon the same condition, that all the parties equally desire it.

But when the King is thus moderate, he has a right to look for justice. To all these offers are annexed conditions which he does not hold himself at liberty to wave.

His Majesty disdains to ask for satisfaction, either from the emissaries who came to preach sedition in his kingdoms, or from the President of the National Convention, from whom the Dignity of his Crown, and the loyalty of the British Nation, received an insult unparalleled in the history of civilized Nations. They will find their punishment in the impotence of their attempts, and in the sight, to them so agonizing, of a king and people joined indissolubly by their mutual affection, beneath the safeguard of their invincible Constitution.

But the French Ambassador, *in the name of that people*, had given the King *express assurance*, that *whatever might concern the rights of his Britannic Majesty, should be the object of the most particular and scrupulous attention*. The Rights of his Majesty and of his subjects are the same, the former exist only to protect the latter: but these rights, in France, are daily violated.

M. Chauv-  
lin's note,

The French Ambassador had declared to the King that *the rights of all those allies of Great Britain who should have taken no hostile steps against France, should be respected no less religiously*. The Dutch have observed

erved a neutrality no less strict than that of England; yet they are attacked in their most positive rights, by the opening of the Scheld, and the manœuvres carried on in the interior of their country.

The French ambassador had to his Majesty invoked *the Faith of Treaties*; yet, in contempt of those treaties which permit the subjects of both nations to pass freely from the one to the other, even without passports, proscriptions have been issued against peaceable French who came to England, as if it were a crime deserving death to tread on British ground.

The French ambassador urged to the King *The Balance of Europe*, yet on every side this balance is destroyed. He alledged *the independance of the several states*, which every where is violated; and *the danger to the general peace*, while the French Government has denounced an open war against all the Governments of Europe!

It was proclaimed, in the name of the French Nation, that it had renounced all conquest. Its ambassador had protested to his Majesty, that *whatever might be the issue of the present War, France, religiously attached to her Constitution, rejects every idea of aggrandisement, and would retain her actual limits.* Nevertheless, on every side, the armies of France have seized the territory of Powers which not only had not made attacks on France, but had not even taken

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taken measures of defence against her. Her limits have been extended, and whole regions have been declared united to her dominion.

It had been proclaimed, in the name of the French nation, that respect for property was the basis of its new Constitution. The Ambassador gave strong assurances *that France had never thought of refusing justice to the Princes of Germany who have possessions within her territory.* Yet the system of raising contributions has succeeded to that of offering indemnities: and the French armies have treated, not only the Princes, but the inhabitants of Worms, Mayence, and even Frankfort, no better than the legislature treated those to whom it gave the name of Emigrants.

Finally, and this it is which at this day is most important, it was proclaimed, in the name of the French Nation, that the Person of the King was inviolable and sacred. The French Ambassador even called the interest taken for his person, and the thought of arming for his safety, *a pity that was insulting to the King of the French.* Nevertheless, a band of perjured, bloody men, has, in the name of the French Nation, imprisoned the French King, and all his Family. They who would assassinate, have claimed to judge him!—At first they accused him of having laid the conspiracy of the 10th of August, with design to overturn the Constitution; immediately

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mediately after, they boasted, in their speeches, of having been themselves the conspirators; of having laid and carried on that plot. They have named the places where their projects were determined; the means they used to give their schemes effect; the decrees by which they stripped the King of all who could defend him; and those by which they gave his Palace to the mercy of the plunderers. They have mentioned an earlier period fixed for the execution of their plot, and the reason why it was deferred till the tenth of August, and till the instant when, at night, they gave their orders for the sounding of that alarm, which caused the death of thousands. They have contended even with rancour, who should claim the greatest share in that event; they have disputed openly, some of them, who had carried on most plots; others, who had committed most assassinations. They have avowed *that the men of the 2d of September were the same as those of the 10th of August.* They have confessed, that on the 14th of July, when, at the altar of their country, they solemnly renewed the oath *of maintaining the Constitution*; on the 7th of July, when *they swore to devote to execration all Republicans, and enemies to the Constitution*; on the 1st of October, the first day of their session, when each of them individually ascending the *tribune*, and lifting his hand toward Heaven, articulately pronounced the oath, that he would die for the Constitution, *for which alone he existed, and that he would with all his power preserve it*; that, at all these times, they swore internally

to overturn that very constitution. Lo! then, how, forgetting these avowals, they still pretend to bring a judgement against the King, for having plotted that same tenth of August, and resolved to overturn the Constitution! They consider him already as convicted. Without the least formality they have seized his papers, that they might at pleasure suppress, interpolate, and alter them: they are calling out these 48 sections of the capital, which cannot bear that a good man should live among them; and who, in the night of the 10th of August, formed in all a body of 492 men, and styled themselves the *French People*. They defy the true people, who, dispersed, disarmed, disunited, without agent, without chief, deplore in secret the misfortune of their King, and feel the blows that fall upon him.

His Britannic Majesty at present waves the other matters of complaint he has declared; at this moment he confines himself to the last article, the most pressing, the one that piety peculiarly demands, the safety of the virtuous and unhappy Louis. It is pleasing to him to persuade himself, that even among those by whom his kingdom is now governed, the greatest part will bless him, should he be the means of saving the French nation from the most horrible parricide, the most crying injustice, indelible disgrace, and an eternal despair.

His Majesty declares, therefore, whether it be to the Provisional Executive Council, to the National Con-

Convention, or to any other body, or individual, in whom the power may be reposed, that the first condition made by the King and People of Great Britain, as a means of doing away the offences herein stated, is the Liberty of the King Louis the XVth, the Queen his wife, and all his Royal Family : and that they be conducted to some port where a British Squadron shall receive them, and convey them to some place of safety, which a nation full of generous and hospitable feelings will be proud to find within itself.

His Majesty, on the other hand, declares, that if any violence be committed against any person of that family, which its virtues and misfortunes have yet more exalted than its dignity ; he then, in the face of Heaven, protests that he will espouse a cause so sacred, and will unite himself, with all his force, to all the parties who shall feel an interest to revenge a crime so execrable. His Majesty protests that he, with them, will put forth all his power, in aiding France to liberate herself : in taking off that bloody yoke which factious men, disowned and hated by a great majority of the true French nation, forcibly impose upon her. Finally, his Majesty protests that he will be the first to call on every Power to act in concert, so that there may not be on earth a refuge for those murderers of kings and people, who will deserve to find themselves proscribed by all the human race.









